

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 THE HA 04326 01 OF 02 041414Z

46

ACTION INR-11

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 L-03 ACDA-19

NSAE-00 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 USIA-15 TRSE-00

SAJ-01 SS-20 NSC-07 EB-11 DODE-00 DRC-01 /130 W

----- 020609

R 041326Z SEP 74

FM AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4270

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 THE HAGUE 4326

E.O. 11652: XGDS2

TAGS: PINR

SUBJECT: BIO INFORMATION AMBASSADOR-DESIGNATE

TAMMENOMS BAKKER

REF: STATE 188836

SUMMARY. AMBASSADOR-DESIGNATE TAMMENOMS BAKKER HAD LUNCH WITH THE DCM ON SEPTEMBER 3. THE AMBASSADOR EXPRESSED FRANK AND KNOWLEDGEABLE VIEWS ON THE SOVIET UNION AND US-SOVIET RELATIONS; NATO AND THE EEC; THE CYPRUS PROBLEM AND ITS RAMIFICATIONS; AND SOME OF THE POLITICAL REALITIES GOVERNING THE DEN UYL COALITION GOVERNMENT. HE IS HONORED AND EXCITED BY HIS ASSIGNMENT TO WASHINGTON AND CAN BE EXPECTED TO GET OFF TO A FAST WORKING START. END SUMMARY.

1. THE SOVIET UNION AND US-SOVIET RELATIONS: TAMMENOMS BAKKER IS ABOLUTELY CONVINCED THAT THE BULK OF THE SOVIET POPULATION HAS NOT YET JOINED THE 20TH CENTURY AND IF LEFT TO THEIR OWN DEVICES WOULD BE INCORRIGIBLY LAZY, ALCOHOLICLY INCLINED, AND UNAMENABLE TO DISCIPLINE OR ANY SENSE OF LARGER NATIONAL PURPOSE. HENCE, IN THE AMBASSADOR'S VIEW, WHICH HE SAYS HE HAS REPORTED MANY TIMES TO THE HAGUE, A TOTALITARIAN REGIME IS THE ONLY
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 THE HA 04326 01 OF 02 041414Z

ONE WHICH IS ABLE TO ORGANIZE THE RUSSIANS, GIVE A

STRUCTURE TO THEIR SOCIETY AND GET THEM TO BEHAVE AND WORK LIKE CITIZENS OF A GREAT NATION IN THE 20TH CENTURY. THE SOVIET LEADERS KNOW THIS AND HAVE NO INTENTION OF LIBERALIZING THE REGIME EXCEPT DROP BY DROP. THUS, THE WHOLE IDEA OF TRYING TO GIVE THE RUSSIANS EVEN A SEMBLANCE OF WESTER-STYLE DEMOCRACY AS ADVOCATED BY DR. SAKHAROV IS PREPOSTEROUS IN TAMMENOMS BAKKER'S JUDGMENT; SOLZHENY TZIN HAS A MUCH DEEPER AND MORE ACCURATE INSIGHT INTO THE RUSSIAN MIND AND SOUL.

2. THE AMBASSADOR HAS BEEN ASKED BY HIS FOREIGN MINISTRY WHETHER IN HIS OPINION THERE IS ANY POINT THEN IN PRESSING THE SOVIETS, NOTABLY AT THE CSCE, TO ACCORD MORE FREEDOM AND RIGHTS TO THEIR CITIZENS. HIS ANSWER IS YES, NOT BECAUSE SUCH EXTERNAL ATTEMPTS HAVE ANY CHANCE OF SUCCESS BUT SIMPLY BECAUSE THE BEST POLICY WITH THE SOVIETS IS "TO SOCK IT TO THEM" ON EVERY OCCASION.

3. TAMMENOMS BAKKER SAYS THAT ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT THINGS HE HAS LEARNED DURING HIS FOUR YEARS IN MOSCOW WAS THAT FOR THE SOVIETS AND THE US NOTHING WAS MORE IMPORTANT THAN THEIR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP. HE FINDS THIS COMPLETELY UNDERSTANDABLE GIVEN TO IMMENSE STRATEGIC POWER OF BOTH COUNTRIES AND THE GREAT CHASM THAT SEPARATES THEIR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SYSTEMS, INDEED THEIR WHOLE VALUE SYSTEM. FROM THE WESTERN EUROPEAN POINT OF VIEW THE CSCE MAY WELL BE THE MOST SIGNIFICANT DIPLOMATIC EVEN IN RECENT YEARS. ON THE OTHER HAND, HE ASSUMES, AND FINDS IT QUITE NATURAL, THAT THE US AND SOVIET UNION ATTACH MORE IMPORTANCE TO THE SALT TALKS.

4. NATO AND THE EEC: AS A RESULT OF HIS MANY YEARS OF INVOLVEMENT IN NATO AFFAIRS IN THE FONOFF (HE WAS DIRECTOR OF THAT DEPARTMENT FROM 1960-64 AND WAS PREVIOUSLY ASSIGNED THERE FROM 1948-50) AS WELL AS HIS PERSONAL ORIENTATION, TAMMENOMS BAKKER BELIEVES THAT A STRONG ATLANTIC ALLIANCE CONTINUES TO BE VITAL FOR THE SECURITY OF THE WEST. HOWEVER, HE GIVES RATHER

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 THE HA 04326 01 OF 02 041414Z

SHORT SHRIFT TO ATTEMPTS TO CLASSIFY PEOPLE AS "ATLANTICISTS" OR "EUROPEANISTS" SINCE HE THINKS THIS IS A PHONEY ISSUE. THE ALLIANCE IS A REALITY WHILE A UNITED EUROPE, HOWEVER DESIRABLE AS AN IDEAL, STILL HAS A LONG WAY TO GO TO REALIZATION HE SHARES THE VIEW OF OTHER RESPONSIBLE DUTCHMEN THAT THE RISK TO THE ALLIANCE IN HIS COUNTRY COMES FROM THE YOUNGER GENERATION WHO HAVE HAD NO PERSONAL EXPERIENCE WITH THE

RAISON D'ETRE FOR NATO.

5. THE CYPRUS PROBLEM AND US POLICY: TAMMENOMS BAKKER IS QUITE FAMILIAR WITH THE VIEWS OF HIS FOREIGN MINISTER, WITH WHOM HE AND MRS. TAMMENOMS BAKKER DINED PRIVATELY THE NIGHT OF VAN DER STOEL'S RETURN FROM HIS BRIEF BUT EVENTFUL ATHENS TRIP (THE HAGUE 4319). TAMMENOMS BAKKER AND HIS FAMILY SPENT SEVERAL WEEKS ON VACATION IN GREECE THIS SUMMER. HE SAID HE WENT TO CONSIDERABLE PAINS TO PERSUADE VAN DER STOEL THAT THE CURRENT SURGE OF ANTI-AMERICANISM IN GREECE DERIVES ONLY IN SMALL PART-CONTARY TO VAN DER STOEL'S OPINION-FROM THE US ALLEGED SUPPORT OF THE PREVIOUS REGIME. TAMMENOMS BAKKER IS CONVINCED, ON THE CONTRARY, THE GREEKS AND THE GREEK GOVERNMENT HAVE TURNED AGAINST THE US ALMOST ENTIRELY BECAUSE OF THE HUMILITAION GREECE HAS SUFFERED OVER CYPRUS. THE GREEKS HAVE TO HAVE A SCAPEGOAT AND WE ARE IT. HE SAYS HE HAS ALSO EMPHASIZED TO VAN DER STOEL THAT US POLICY SINCE THE OUTBREAK OF THE CRISIS HAS REFLECTED SOUND JUDGMENT. NOT ONLY IS TUREKY OF GREATER MILITARY AND STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE TO THE US AND THE ALLIANCE, BUT HAD THE US TILTED ITS POLICY IN FAVOR OF GREECE, THE EXPLOSION OF ANTI-AMERICANISM IN TURKEY WOULD, IN THE ABMASSADOR'S JUDGMENT, HAVE BEEN FAR MORE DEVASTATING AND ADVERSE TO US AND NATO INTERESTS. IN THIS CONNECTION, TAMMENOMS BAKKER SPOKE CANDIDLY OF HIS SERIOUS RESERVATIONS RE ECEVIT, WHOM HE CONSIDERS OPPORTUNIISTIC AND LACKING IN POLITICAL PRINCIPLES. ECEVIT, HE SAYS, WOULD HAVE BEEN QUITE CAPABLE OF WHIPPING UP A VIOLENT TIDE OF ANTI-AMERICANISM IF HE DECIDED THAT THAT WAS WHAT THE SITUATION AND HIS POLITICAL POSITION CALLED FOR. TAMMENOMS BAKKER REACHED THIS ASSESSMENT OF ECEVIT WHILE OBSERVING HIM MANEUVER HIS WAY TO CONTROL OF HIS PARTY SEVERAL YEARS AGO.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 THE HA 04326 01 OF 02 041414Z

THE AMBASSADOR IS PREPARED TO ACCEPT THE POSSIBILITY THAT ECEVIT, LIKE OTHER POLITICIANS WITH A SIMILAR PAST, HAS LEARNED TO ACT MORE RESPONSIBLY ONCE HE ASSUMED A TOP GOVERNMENTAL POSITION.

6. VIEWS ON DUTCH POLITICS: THE CONVERSATION DID NOT TOUCH DIRECTLY ON THIS SUBJECT, BUT THE DCM INFERRED THAT IT WOULD BE VERY SURPRISING IF TAMMENOMS BAKKER HAD ANY PREFERENCE FOR OR IDENTIFICATION WITH THE DUTCH LABOR PARTY. AT THE SAME TIME, HE WAS NOT RPT NOT CRITICAL OF ANY OF ITS PRESENT LEADERS (WITH THE EXCEP-TION OF ANDRE VAN DER LOUW, CHAIRMAN OF THE PARTY, WHO INDEED IS A RADICAL LEFT-WINGER IN THE AMERICAN SENSE). TAMMENOMS BAKKER AGREED WITH THE POPULAR WISDOM THAT ON OF THE BIGGEST PROBLEMS FOR THE LABOR PARTY MEMBERS

OF THE DEN UYL GOVERNMENT IS TO STAY ON TOP OF THE

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 THE HA 04326 02 OF 02 041353Z

46

ACTION INR-11

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 L-03 ACDA-19

NSAE-00 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 USIA-15 TRSE-00

SAJ-01 SS-20 NSC-07 EB-11 DODE-00 DRC-01 /130 W
----- 020370

R 041326Z SEP 74

FM AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4271

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 THE HAGUE 4326

PARTY'S YOUNG LEFT-WING. HE SEEMED TO THINK THAT THIS PROBLEM WOULD BE MANAGEABLE, AT LEAST OVER THE SHORTER TERM. THE AMBASSADOR DID NOT INDICATE THAT HE HAS ANY SPECIAL FRIENDS IN THE DEN UYL GOVERNMENT ALTHOUGH HE GAVE THE IMPRESSION OF BEING ON CLOSE AND FRIENDLY TERMS WITH VAN DER STOEL. IN ANSWER TO A QUESTION, HE SAID HE WAS NOT ABLE TO GET AN APPOINTMENT WITH THE PRIME MINISTER PRIOR TO TAMMENOMS BAKKER'S DEPARTURE FOR WASHINGTON ON SEPTEMBER 7. THE REASON GIVEN WAS THAT DEN UYL WAS TOO BUSY DIRECTING PREPARATIONS FOR PARLIAMENTARY HEARINGS ON THE 1975 BUDGET. TAMMENOMS BAKKER DID NOT COMMENT SUBSTANTIVELY ON MINISTER VREDELING'S RECENT CROCKERY-BREAKING INTERVIEW (THE HAGUE 4283) OTHER THAN TO SAY THAT VREDELING'S LANGUAGE WAS EXTREMELY PUNGENT AND THUS VIRTUALLY UNTRANSLATABLE INTO ANY OTHER LANGUAGE. THE AMBASSADOR HAD ALREADY BEEN TO SEE VREDELING, WHO TOLD HIM THAT HE WANTED HIM TO ACCOMPANY HIM WHEN VREDELING VISITS THE US LATER THIS MONTH.

7. PERSONAL: TAMMENOMS BAKKER IS ABOUT 5' 11" TALL, ON THE SLENDER SIDE WITH BLOND, BALDING HAIR AND A TYPICALLY RUDDY DUTCH COMPLEXION. HE IS FRIENDLY, ALERT AND ENGAGING. SMOOTHER RATHER THAN SUAVE, HE IS AN

EXCELLENT CONVERSATIONALIST WITH A GIFT FOR FRANKNESS
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 THE HA 04326 02 OF 02 041353Z

AND LUCID ANALYSIS. HE IS LOOKING FORWARD KEENLY TO
HIS ASSIGNMENT IN WASHINGTON, A CITY WHICH HE SAYS
HE KNOWS SOMEWHAT FROM SEVERAL VISITS THERE IN HIS
FORMER NATO CAPACITY. HE HAS HAPPY MEMORIES OF A
TWO-WEEK SEMINAR HE TOOK AT HARVARD IN THE 60'S UNDER
THE DIRECTION OF SECRETARY KISSINGER. HE WILL BE
ACCOMPANIED TO WASHINGTON BY HIS WIFE, JEAN, AN
ATTRACTIVE LADY OF SCOTTISH ORIGIN, WHO IS REPORTEDLY
GIFTED IN LANGUAGES, AND BY THEIR YOUNGEST DAUGHTER,
JULIET, AGE 12. THERE ARE TWO OLDER DAUGHTERS, AGE
20 AND 18, BOTH STUDENTS AT OXFORD UNIVERSITY.
GOULD

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: AMBASSADOR DESIGNATE, BIOGRAPHIC INFORMATION, INVESTIGATIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 04 SEP 1974
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: shawdg
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974THEHA04326
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X2
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D740244-1138
From: THE HAGUE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19740974/aaaackxn.tel
Line Count: 242
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION INR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: STATE 188836
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: shawdg
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 15 MAY 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <15 MAY 2002 by martinml>; APPROVED <04 MAR 2003 by shawdg>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: BIO INFORMATION AMBASSADOR-DESIGNATE TAMMENOMS BAKKER
TAGS: PINR, (TAMMENOMS BAKKER, ROBERT)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005